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ON THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE
OF THE
NATIVES OF TENERIFE.

A PAPER CONTRIBUTED TO THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL
SECTION OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR
THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE,
1891,

BY
JOHN,
MARQUESS OF BUTE,
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ON THE ANCIENT LANGUAGE OF THE NATIVES OF TENERIFE.

To read a paper before the present audience is an act of such temerity upon my part, that I feel that I ought to begin by explaining the circumstances which lead me to hope that it may not be altogether without interest. In the spring of this year the state of my health made it desirable that I should go abroad for some weeks, and I selected Tenerife, not only for the sake of the singularly perfect climate, and of the shortness and ease of the journey, but also to gratify my curiosity by the sight of a region until then entirely unknown to me. Those who know Tenerife at all, know that, especially in the case of an invalid, it is necessary, in order to have any occupation, to take up some line of study; and it occurred to me to turn my attention to the language spoken by the inhabitants at the time of the Spanish conquest. I was the more encouraged in this because, as far as my native informants could tell me, the subject had hitherto been treated in only a very slight and superficial way, and, in especial, no attempt had been made to discover the grammatical inflections, by the examination, not only of the words, but also of the few sentences which have been handed down to us. Dr. George Perez, of Orotava, gave me the second volume of the “*Estudios Históricos, Climatológicos y Patológicos*,” of Dr. Gregory Chil, of Las Palmas in the Grand Canary, who is probably known to some of those here present as having been one of the Vice-Presidents of the Universal Anthropological Congress at Paris in 1878. It is this work which has really

supplied the basis of the following remarks. The volume in question was only published in 1889, and I am not aware that the collection of Tenerifan words and sentences which it contains, and which I believe to be the most perfect which has yet been compiled, has hitherto been made the subject of definite study by any European writer. I feel therefore some confidence that I am calling your attention to something new, or am at any rate treating a subject which may not be itself new with new means of examination. On the other hand, I am not invading a province which Dr. Chil has made his own. The investigations of that distinguished man have not unnaturally taken a course more germane to his own profession, such as craniology. He has not, as I understand, given any attention to philology, and has only compiled such matter incidentally as he came across it in the historical section of his work. Into these other matters I have not followed him. The history of the conquest is not in itself an attractive one. I will only observe that the great bulk of the islanders resisted the invaders for several years, and only capitulated when they became sure that for them the war was becoming one of extermination. On the other hand, one of the native chiefs, the Prince of Guïmar, early joined the enemies of his country, and was left comparatively undisturbed. Hence, no doubt, the fact mentioned by Sir Edmund Scory, that the native language was still spoken at Candelaria, in the Principality of Guïmar, about 300 years ago, that is, about a century after the conquest, whence I conclude that it can hardly have become entirely extinct before about 1650 at the very earliest.

Again, I have not followed Dr. Chil into his anthropometrical researches. Race and language are doubtless often allied in the most interesting manner, but it by no means follows that because a given people speak a given language, therefore they belong to a given race. This is especially the case where one race has been exposed to the domination of another. I need hardly cite the

adoption of Teutonic dialects by Kelts, as in Ireland, or the manner in which the language of the Arab conquerors has entirely superseded Coptic in Egypt; probably the most glaring instances are such as that of Hayti, where the inhabitants are undoubtedly negroïd, but speak a dialect of French. That there was a mixture of races in the ancient Tenerife seems at least very probable. Putting aside all anthropometrical questions, in the strictest sense of the term, it is to be remarked that the Spaniards noticed that the natives of the northern side were fair, whereas those of the southern side were dark, and seemingly different in disposition.¹ They remarked the tremendous social distinction between the governing and the servile class; and Espinosa records that the native tradition was that the latter were beings produced by a different creation.² This also may perhaps have to do with another native tradition recorded by him,³ to the effect that once upon a time sixty persons had come to the island, none knew whence, and settled near Icod. There may even be an indication of a mixture of several languages in the statement of Marin y Cubas that "for one thing they use more than two or three different words,"⁴ as though showing something like our own duplicated or triplicated vocabulary.

In the present paper I have kept myself, as far as possible, exclusively, to the language once spoken in the actual island of Tenerife itself. Some writers have been pleased to assume that one and the same language was spoken by the natives of all the islands of the Canary Archipelago, and have compiled vocabularies of what they term generically the *Guanche* tongue, compounded of words collected in all the islands, and often with little or no attempt to indicate which word belongs to which island. This assumption of lingual homogeneity or identity is at least very bold. Thomas Nicolas, whose description, written in 1526, is preserved in a

¹ Chil, pp. 16, 39.

³ P. 75.

² Pp. 40, 41.

⁴ Cited in Chil, p. 46.

MS. in the Library at Laguna, says of the Tene-rifans:—"These people were called Guanches. Their language was different to that of any other of the Canary Islands. Each island had its own language."¹ This is, perhaps, quoted in "A pleasant description of the Fortunate Ilandes . . . by the poore pilgrime," published in London in 1583, where it is said:—"These people were called Guāches by naturall name. They spake another language cleane contrarie to the Canarians, and so consequently everie iland spake a severall language." Mr. Glas, who wrote rather more than a century ago, and is reckoned one of the most trustworthy of the English authorities, says expressly:—"Whether the Canarians were exiles from Africa, or not, I shall not pretend to determine; but am persuaded they came originally from thence. This may easily be proved from the similitude of customs and language in South Barbary to those of the natives of all the Canary Islands, excepting Tenerife. The language of Tenerife, at the time of the conquest, had no affinity to those spoken in the rest of the islands: by the annexed specimen it seems to have some resemblance of the Peruvian or some other of the American tongues."² Antonio Galvanos says:—"Every island did speak a severall language."³ Again, we find the opinion that there were separate languages in the different islands combined with one which was common to all. Thus we read that the "Guanches [of Tenerife] had a peculiar language quite different from the Canarians, and so in the rest, the inhabitants of every island had a distinct tongue besides the language common to all;"⁴ and, again, "Every island had a peculiar dialect of one mother language which was common to them all."⁵ And some writers have endeavoured to distinguish particular words as local, while they specify others as being common to all the islands. Again, we

¹ Note communicated to me by Mr. de G. Birch.

² History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands, p. 172.

³ Purchas his Pilgrimes. Pt. 2, p. 1673.

⁴ General Collection of Voyages, p. 537.

⁵ Ibid. p. 533.

find it stated, in direct contradiction to the writers first cited, that "They spake all one language."¹ The most general opinion seems to have been that expressed by Viera y Clavijo, namely, that the different languages spoken in the different islands of the Canary Archipelago, were different dialects of one mother tongue.² I have not myself gone into this question, which is, perhaps, insoluble. Dr. Chil has taken the truly scientific course, by endeavouring to compile separate vocabularies for all the islands. I will only say that, having read those of the other islands, as well as that of Tenerife, as given by him, the impression produced on my mind was that, as far as the vocabulary was concerned, there was a resemblance somewhat similar to that between English and German. But I need not impress upon this audience that vocabulary alone is a most uncertain guide, especially where different languages have been brought into contact. It has been well remarked that if the language of Gibbon were subjected to a scientific examination from the point of view of vocabulary alone, such a study would be apt to lead to the conclusion that the history of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* had been written in a dialect of Latin. Thus, also, the spoken dialect of the English Gypsies offers us English grammar with an Indian vocabulary, and that of the peasants of Brittany, a Keltic vocabulary with French grammar. Whether, therefore, the Tenerifan language was, or was not, more or less identical in vocabulary with those of the other Canary Islands, is only a partial factor in determining its character. The grammatical indices as regards the others seem to be very, very scanty: and I have been largely influenced, in confining myself to the Tenerifan, by the consideration, embodied in the remark made by Dr. Chil,³ that it is the only one of which the existing remains offer a number of words and phrases sufficient to form any basis for a grammatical analysis.

¹ Ibid. p. 533.

² Cited in Chil, p. 46.

³ P. 45.

Before going farther, I may be permitted to remark, although it is going a little outside the line which I have proposed to myself, that there seem to have been three main opinions as to the nature of the Tenerifan language, which the majority of writers have been pleased (as seems, to me, very rashly) to identify with those of the other Canary Islands, in one tongue which they generically designate as Guanche.

The first is that of Glas, already cited, who, separating it entirely from the others, considers it to be American, while they are African. This opinion received an interesting confirmation in the result of an experiment recently made by me through Mr. de Gray Birch, of the British Museum. I sent him the existing sentences of the language as given by Dr. Chil. Mr. Birch laid them before Dr. Charles Rieu and Mr. A. G. Ellis, without saying what they were, and both gentlemen, after studying them, gave the same opinion, viz., that the language was an American one. Of course this opinion is one which would specially commend itself to believers in a lost continent Atlantis, who would thus hail an additional proof that the Canary Archipelago is but the peaks of its otherwise submerged highlands. And if it can be shown that the Tenerifan is really American, and further that it is really identical with the languages of the other islands, of which so much less is known, it will be clear that Glas' limitation of his linguistic theory fell short of the truth.

The English prophet of the second opinion, may, I believe, be said to be Sir Edmund Scory, who, writing in the time of Queen Elizabeth, says:—"The language of the old Guanches (which remayneth to this day among them in this island in their towne of Candelaria) alludeth much to that of the Moores in Barbary."¹ This Berber theory seems certainly the most natural one, and may be called the fashionable one. Lists of words have been made in order to support it by real or fancied resemblances. It has sometimes been assumed as if an un-

¹ Cited in "Purchas his Pilgrimage," v. 786.

doubted fact. To discuss it at length is not within my proposed purpose, but I may be forgiven for citing in connection with it one very singular passage in a later treatise contained in the same MS. at Laguna which contains that of Thomas Nicolas. The author¹ expresses the belief that all the islanders had come originally from the mainland of Africa, that their language had originally been African, and that some words were still the same. But he says that the language now spoken by them was as a whole so totally different from any African one, that, having regard to the obscure mass of palatals and gutturals in which the pronunciation consisted, he hazards the speculation that the Romans had cut out the tongues of all the original immigrants, and that these afterwards, in order to have a medium of vocal communication, had invented an entirely new language, containing only such sounds as they were able to articulate with the stumps of their tongues, along with such African words as were amenable to the same treatment.

Lastly, when I was reading Dr. Chil's compilation in Tenerife, and without any access to a Berber, American, or even Shemitic grammar, I was struck by what appeared to me to be Aryan elements. This seemed to me so entirely out of the question that I felt almost ashamed of the thought. It is only since my return that I have learnt how widely the theory of the Guanches' Teutonic origin has been discussed and maintained upon the basis of the remains of their language.

I have not gone into these theories. I am not aware that any of them have been supported by grammatical argument. I have had no wish to study the controversies of others, still less to plunge into them myself. I do not even wish to advocate a theory. My only wish has been to lay before you the results of my analysis of Dr. Chil's compilations, as the fullest and most recent on the subject, in the hope that I may thus obtain for the matter the attention of some who are more fitted to treat it than I am. And for the purpose of such an analysis I have

¹ Note made for me by Mr. Birch.

considered it an advantage that I should approach the subject as ignorant as possible of the disputes which have taken place before me.

For the subject of my analysis I have come to the conclusion that it is best for me generally to adhere to the list given by Dr. Chil. From being a native of the Canaries, and from his special position at Las Palmas, he occupies a position of greater vantage for his purpose than any other writer with whom I am acquainted. Mr. de Gray Birch, of the British Museum, has been good enough to have a large number of books in the library there consulted for me, and also to go to the Canary Islands for the same purpose—a voyage which I also trust was of some service in recruiting his health after an attack of influenza. But the extracts made for me by him, in addition to the almost endless difficulty which they offer by confounding Tenerifan words with words belonging to the languages of the other islands of the Archipelago, seem to contain few or none not known to and classified by Dr. Chil. The only exception of great importance is a number of names of plants, and among these, besides the immense difficulty, to one entirely ignorant of botany as I am, of identifying each by its scientific name, and the probability that the vast majority are proper names of plants peculiar to the Canary Islands, I have been startled by finding such pure Spanish words as *manzanilla* and *helecho* put down by some authors as native; if such be the case with words so very ordinary, what can be expected in the case of more unusual, more archaic, or more provincial Spanish terms which may have been, and doubtless were, imported by Spanish colonists of two, three, or four centuries ago? More than forty words were also supplied to me by the Rev. Claudio Marrero, Beneficiado of the Church of the Concepcion at Laguna, and of these about twenty are not in Dr. Chil's vocabulary, but of these twenty all were proper names of places, except one or two which are

technical names for objects peculiar to the island. I have also another and peculiarly interesting list of eighty-six words, communicated by Don Manuel de Ossuna to Mr. Birch.¹ Very few of these words occur in Dr. Chil's work, and Don Manuel has the intention of publishing them. They consist of proper names of places, including those of four sepulchral caves of the aborigines, and two of places traditionally associated with their kings, and names of plants which I take to be peculiar to the island, along with two or three local technical words, and thirteen words traditionally addressed to animals, which may be verbs, but the exact meaning of which is now unknown.

Here also I had perhaps better say at once that I have given no attention to the so-called inscriptions said to have been discovered. I am not concerned to deny that these few collocations of scratches may really be inscriptions. But, even if this were admitted, and also that they are native, the amount of information which they could yield would be quite insignificant compared with that derivable from other sources. I understand however that those who have studied them have generally regarded them as Libyan or Carthaginian. It is certain that the natives, at the time of the Spanish conquest, knew nothing of either reading or writing. And my own belief is that these inscriptions, if inscriptions they be, would throw no more light upon the native language than the inscriptions left by the Franklin expedition would throw upon that of the Esquimaux.

If there be a fault in Dr. Chil's list, it is that I suspect

¹ In the letter to Mr. Birch in which he eneloses them he says:—"I make an expedition every year to the out-of-the-way distriet of Anaga, a portion of this island which is full of attraetions for an anthropologist, or indeed for any kind of student. There the primitive aboriginal type has been preserved in great purity, and the native families have handed down among themselves eustoms and traditions of great antiquity. In my expedition last year I colleeted various words of the language which was spoken before the Spanish conquest, and a naturalist who accompanied me discovered a small bird which had never before been elassified, and which I have named, after him, the *Rubecula Cabrieriensis*." I cite these words ehiefly to give the reader the pleasure of knowing that a man so intelligent is engaged upon work so interesting.

that he has sometimes included in the Tenerifan, words belonging to the languages of other islands, such as *Tamonante*, which he gives for "the priestess" on the authority of Viera, and as a proper name on that of Berthelot, while, as far as I have been able to ascertain, it was the personal title of a particular witch who lived in Fuerteventura, and with her very possibly only a local title from some shrine, since in Dr. Chil's vocabulary of the language of the Grand Canary I find *Tamonanten* and *Tamoganten* for "the house," and *Tamonantacoran* and *Tamogantacoran* for "the house of God." But, having in view his greater personal advantages for research, I have thought it better to accept his conclusions than to endeavour to sift them by any criticism of my own.

His list consists of about 1,000 words and phrases collected out of the incidental notices of divers old historians and travellers. Of these, however, about three-quarters are proper names of places and people, and to determine how far they may be generic or descriptive would require an amount of topographical research which has been beyond my reach. Of about 250 which remain, I will put aside the complete sentences for the moment, as I would rather treat them in connection with grammar than with vocabulary. On analyzing the rest, so many turn out to be mere variants in spelling, that the residuum comprises only some ninety words, and from these again must be deducted as comparatively useless for philological purposes the names of plants and other things peculiar to the island. I have been obliged to use the word "about" deliberately, as the varieties of spelling are such that I cannot feel certain that I may not have confounded some words which are really different, or separated some words which are really the same. This question of spelling must be fully faced. It must be kept in mind, to begin with, that the writing is all phonetic, and that the system of phonography is purely Spanish. Thus, the combination *th* is not intended to represent any such sound as that of the Greek θ , but

one somewhat like that of *th* in the words *pothouse* and *carthorse*. Again, if a sound did not exist in Spanish, some other which does would certainly have been substituted for it. Thus, I asked my learned friend Dr. George Perez how a Spaniard who did not know English would be likely to represent the two obscure sounds of *t* in the word *tuition*, and he answered that such a man would probably represent both by *ch*. Again, Spanish orthography is still sufficiently fluid, as, for instance, in the use of *j* or *x*; and the pronunciation is very various, as, for instance, that of the soft *c*. And here we have to deal with writers of centuries ago. I am strongly inclined to suspect that by many, if not all, *h*, *j*, *x*, and even *g* were treated as convertible: thus, "the assembly" is called *Tagoror* by Castillo and *Tahoror* by Berthelot: and even *r* seems sometimes to approximate to the same, as in the variants *Tarucho* and *Tahucho*, the name of a mountain. Again, *c* must be used by some as universally convertible with *s*, since the word spelled *chucar* by Viera and Nuñez de la Peña is spelled *chusar* by Viana; and an uncertainty even hangs over *z*, as where we find the word for a daughter given by Espinosa as *Cucaha*, rendered *Zucaha* by Viera, *Zucasa* by Abreu Galindo, and *Zuchaha* by Bory de St. Vincent. After all these difficulties come the blunders of copyists and printers, as where it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the word ascribed to Viana as *sahagua* in one place is the same which he is made to give as *zahaña* in another. So that the reader is exposed to the terrible suspicion that the essential consonant upon which he is basing some structure of philological argument may after all owe its existence to nothing but a slip of the pen or the inadvertent movement of a compositor's hand.

Under all these drawbacks I now proceed to give a list, partially annotated, of the words which seem to me the most important of those which have known equivalents in other languages. This I treat, as far as possible, only as vocabulary. The sentences I shall take afterwards, in an attempt to throw some light upon the grammar. But I

must beg leave here to assume what I hope then to prove, viz., that the definite article was some form of *t*, *at*, or *ta*, or some sibilant modification of it, such as *atch*, *ash*, *as*, or *ach*. And I must also beg to be allowed in analyzing the earlier words to make use of some of the later. The words are taken as a whole in the nearly alphabetical order in which they are given by Dr. Chil.

Acaman, "God Most High" according to Viana; "the Sun" according to Marin y Cubas. This seems to show that God and the Sun were regarded as identical. Abreu Galindo gives the word as *Achaman*, with the meaning "God." From this it appears that the *ac* is for *ach*, and is the article. The word also appears in the forms *Atuman* and *Ataman* (i.e., seemingly with the article unmodified) translated "the sky" by the same Abreu Galindo, who also gives two compounds, *Atguaychafanataman* and *Atguaychafurataman*, which he translates "the Owner of the sky." As *atguay* means "the spirit," the difficulty lies in *chafan* or *chafur* (perhaps this latter a misreading of the former). Maximiliano Aguilar gives *Chafa* as the name of a mountain, and *Chafanzo* as that of some place undescribed, while Don Claudio Marrero gives me *Chafa* as that of a very lofty mountain-ridge, and *Chefina* (perhaps the true form of a word *Chafiras* attributed to Maximiliano Aguilar as the name of another place undescribed) of a gentle rising ground. *Chafan* may, like some other words, be a plural form. Query, therefore: Does *Atguaychafanataman* mean "the spirit of the mountains of the Sun"—as indicating some peaks upon which the rays lingered most? It may possibly, on the other hand, be connected with *chafeña*, *chafar*, or *afaro*, and signify "the spirit of the Sun's grain," in reference to the spirit presiding over some sacrificial offering. Viana also gives *Amenacoran* for "My God, have mercy!" The *Amen* may be the same as *Aman*, and, if so, the true meaning of the phrase is "Sun God."

Acguayaxerax, "the Great, the Sublime, the Sustainer of all" according to Abreu Galindo. As we know

separately that *Guaya* means "spirit," and *Xeraxi*, "the sky or universe," the meaning might be given as *anima mundi*, but this is too abstract a notion for these savages, and I take it that the signification is "the Life (or Soul) of the sky," and that the phrase is probably a divine title of the Sun. It occurs in a variety of forms. Abreu Galindo himself gives *Achguayerxerax* as "the Sustainer of heaven and earth," *Achguarergen* (a form which, from other examples, I think is probably a plural) as "the Sustainer of all," and *Guarirari* (without the article) as "the Indweller of the universe." Viana gives *Aguarera*, and *Goyagerax*, without any meaning, but referred by Dr. Chil to *Achguayaxerax*, and *Guayaxiraxi* as "the Owner of the world" to which Dr. Chil refers the *Guaxagiraxi* of Bory de St. Vincent. Viera has *Aguaerar*.

Acoran (Abreu Galindo) and *Acoron* (Nuñez de la Peña) are clearly identical, as suggested by Dr. Chil, with the *Achoran* of Viana and the *Achoron* of Espinosa. The word admittedly signifies "God." I suspect that it is also the same word as *Achahuerahan*, given as "God the Creator" by Bory de St. Vincent, and *Achahurahan*, rendered "Great God" by Viera; and these once more I take to be the same with the *Acuhuragan* of Viana and the *Achuhuaban* (probably the *b* a mistake of copyists for *h*) of Abreu Galindo, both translated "Great God." Nuñez de la Peña also gives *Achuhurahan*, Abreu Galindo *Achuhuyahan*, and Viera *Achxuaxan*. The word *oran*, *oron*, *huerahan*, *hurahan*, &c., appears to me to be probably the same as appears in *Eraorahan*, given by Abreu Galindo as the name of the male deity worshipped by the natives of Hierro, and which after their conversion they applied to our LORD. For this Abreu Galindo also gives the forms *Erahoranhan* and *Eraoranhan*, but in these we have the syllable *han* following the final *n*, and I am therefore inclined to regard them as dual or plural forms, signifying "the gods," since we know that in the language of the island of Palma *tigot* signified "heaven" in the singular, and *tigotan* (with *an* suffixed) "the

heavens" in the dual or plural. I must also remark that in the form *Achahuerahan*, and perhaps in some of the others, it would seem at least probable that we have the syllable *hu* inserted after the article and before *cran*, and I have suggested in connection with another word that *hu* was a preformative indicating greatness or holiness, so that Viera, Viana, and Abreu Galindo may have been literally right in translating the words which they endeavour to represent by the forms *Achahurahan*, *Acuhuragan*, and *Achuhuaban*, by the term "Great God."

Achaño, "the year" (Viera). It is evident that *año* is merely the Spanish word, and this compound is therefore in itself an almost sufficing proof that *Ach* is the native definite article.

Achic, "son or descendant of —" (Viana). I believe this word to be a mere blunder founded upon the beginning of *Achicuca*, of which hereafter.

Achicasna, "the servant," and *Achicasnai* and *Achicaxna*, "the villager," doubtless in the sense of *serf*. This was the title of the servile class among the natives, and I think that *casna*, *casnai*, and *caxna* are probably the same as the word *zahana*, *zahaña*, &c., which occurs repeatedly in the sentences preserved to us. This I conclude from the sense of these passages. It would follow that in *zahaña* the ictus should be upon the antepenultima.

Achiciquiso, *Cichiciquico* and *Cichiciquizo*. The latter two are translated "squire," and *Gichicicuizo*, "attached to the nobility." Abreu Galindo also gives *Chilhisiquizo*. This is the designation of the free class above the *Achicaxna* but below the *Achimencey*. The question here is whether the initial C's and G are prefixes to the article, and what is the precise force of the prefixed syllable *chil*.

Achicuca, translated "the bastard," which is not its precise meaning. I will speak of *cuca* under its own head, and here only observe that the present word is another proof that *ach* is the definite article.

Achimaya and *Achimayec*, "the mother." There is a certain resemblance between *maya* or *mayec* and the Latin

mater, English *mother*, &c. And I may say here that I have noticed that Tenerifan and other Guanche words expressing women often contain the syllable *ma* or *mo*. In connection with this word I may also call attention to the fact that there exists what purports to be a verse of native poetry of the Grand Canary, and of which we have what purports to be a word-for-word translation. In this the word *aguabal* is said to mean "our mother," and such total dissimilarity in such a term would argue total dissimilarity of language: but there may be a mistake, especially as the next word (rendered "these people") is *maicá*, and may be the real word, and a form of *mayec*.

Achimencey and *Archimensi*, "the noble," and *Ahimen-cey*, "the descendant of a prince." These were the highest social class, including the actual princes or kings, since *Mencey* alone (without the article) is given by Viera as signifying "sovereign" or "king." Of its derivative *Menceyto*, a title of God, I shall speak in its place. The fundamental notion appears to be *height*, and there is a place called *Menceina* or *Menceyna*, perhaps meaning "an height." I confess that it reminds me of the word *eminence*.

Achineche, the name of the island of Tenerife. It is also found as *Atchinetche*, *Chineche*, *Chinechi*, and *Chinet*. Dr. Chil seems to be of opinion that *Chineche* is only another form of the more ordinary name *Chenerfe*, *Chenerife*, or *Tenerife*, but I confess that I cannot account for such a transmutation of *ch* with *f*, and I prefer to regard it as a separate word, the fundamental meaning of which is now lost.

Achmayec-Guayaxirax-Acoran-Achaman (Viana). As we have all these words separately, we know the meaning of this to be "the mother of the soul of the sky, God the Sun." Abreu Galindo also gives *Atmayceguayaxiraxi*, "the mother of the soul of the sky," but which he falsely translates "the mother of the Sustainer of the world," as he also renders *Chaxiraxi* (in Marin y Cubas *Chijoraji*), "the sky," by "she who bears the Owner of the world,"

and says that it was a title given by the natives to the Virgin of Candelaria. I presume the real title to have been the long one here given, and that it was simply an attempt to translate the Spanish *Madre de Dios*.

Achucanac and *Acucanac* are words given by Abreu Galindo, and identified by Dr. Chil, doubtless rightly, with *Achjucanac*, translated "the Sublime God" by Viera, who also gives *Achaxucanac* and *Ahicanac*. Espinosa gives *Achuhucanac*. This is obviously the same word with the *Hucanech* of Nuñez de la Peña, and the *Jucancha*, "the Omnipresent God," of Marin y Cubas, who also gives *Gucancha*. This is really the name of an apparition in the shape of a large dog, and is connected with *Cancha*, of which presently. The peculiarity of the present word is the syllable *Hu* fixed as a differentiation between the article and the noun. It is clearly a preformative indicating greatness or holiness. It is certainly suggestive of the English *high* or the German *hoch*. It seems to occur as the first syllable of some names of places, and it would be interesting to discover whether they are all heights, like the mountain called *Hyo* by Berthelot. It seems to me also possible that this preformative *hu* may enter into some of the divine names such as *Achahuerahan* which I have mentioned under *Acoron*, the fundamental word being *oron*; but the vagaries of spelling among the different writers are so great that I shrink from drawing a conclusion upon this point.

Aguere. This is the ancient name of Laguna, and seems to have the same meaning, viz., "the lake," in allusion to the beautiful lake there—the only one in the island—now drained. The word is certainly rather suggestive of the Latin *aqua*, or, if the *ag* be taken to be a corrupt representation of the article or the *gu* to be simply the digamma, the *guere* or *uere* may have some remote connection with the English word *weir* or even *water*. I cannot pass away from the subject without allowing myself an expression of deep regret at the destruction of this lake. Arguing by analogy from the striking pecu-

liarities of the land flora, it probably possessed some unique aquatic vegetation, the knowledge of which has thus been for ever lost to science.

Ahico, a dress, seemingly identified with a leathern shirt.

Ahof or *Ajof*, "milk."

Ara, *Aja*, or *Axa*, "a she-goat." It is said also to mean "a fold," in the same sense as *Haña* and *Jaña*, and I am inclined to identify it with *haro*, "a fold." The word *ara*, "a she-goat," occurs in Berber, but considering the existence of the Latin *aries*, "a ram," I do not think that very much can be built upon that circumstance. I have also been informed that in Sanskrit (of which I know nothing) *aga* means "a goat."

Ana, "a ram." I suspect that this is the same word as *haña* and *jaña*, rendered "a fold," just as the double meaning is ascribed to *ara*. In connection with this word it is natural to remember the Latin *agnus*, in the Italian pronunciation of which the *gn* has exactly the same sound as the Spanish *ñ*.

Aran, or *Haran*, "fern." Allowing for the same transmutation of *f* and *h* by which the Latin *filius* becomes the Spanish *hijo*, *haran* would be *faran*, and simply the same word as the English *fern*, which in Scotland is often pronounced *feron*.

Axo and *Xayo*, "a mummy."

Benesmen, "the position of harvest-time," according to Viera, seems to be the same word as *Benismer* and *Beñesmer*, which Abreu Galindo gives for the month of August.

Bentinerfe, *Benichin*, *Bentcheni*, *Bincheni*, and *Binchini*, also *Vicheni*, also *Guanchtinerf*, *Guanctinerfe*, *Guanche*, and *Guanchinet*, "a native of Tenerife." This word opens one of the most interesting questions in connection with this language. It is necessary to remember, (1) that to the Spanish ear B and V are hardly distinguishable; we actually find *Ventore* given for *Bencom*, the name of the Tenerifan king: (2) the close connection between V and W, which latter letter the Spaniards do not possess, and the undoubted confusion

between the sounds of W and Gw. It is thus that in Latin the Welsh word *Gwent* constantly appears as *Venta*, or that we learn from the Venerable Bede that *Penguaul* was Pictish for "the head of the *vallum*." And I may mention that in Tenerife itself I have invariably heard the word *Guanche* pronounced *Wanche*. This word *Guanche* is of course only the beginning of the word before us. The name of the island is Tenerife, and, with the T softened, *Chenerife* or *Chenerfe*. Viera informs us that *Guan* signified "son of —;" hence *Guanchinerfe* simply means "son of Tenerife." The variety of the spelling of this word *Guan*, *Ben*, or *Ven*, seems to me to point clearly to a digamma, which had probably a sort of W sound. As to the word itself, the form *Ben* is exceedingly suggestive of the Shemitic *Ben*, "a son," but I should like to know the derivation of *Vandal* and *Wend* before hurrying to any conclusion; and also whether it may not be possible that by the mutation of the digamma into the aspirate, and of the aspirate into the sibilant, as in the case of such a word as our *salt*, this word may not, after all, be the same as the English word *son*.

Benicod, *Benicoden*, "the people of Icod," a town in Tenerife. These are evidently formed by *Guan* or *Ben* and the name of the place, like the generic term for the natives of the island. The two words are very valuable, as they seem to be singular and plural, and thus supply another instance of the plural in *en*. Dr. Chil adds *Benicoren*, but I am rather led to think that there is a separate place called Icor, in which case this is only an additional instance of the same formation. However, if this be really the same and not another word, I should regard it as a mere mistake of Berthelot, his copyists, or his printers.

Benrimo, as we are informed by Abreu Galindo, meant "son of the cripple." As *Ben* is "son," *rimo* must mean "cripple."

Before passing from this word *Guan* or *Ben* as found in these compounds, I should like to add the following note

extracted by Mr. Birch from the tenth of twelve volumes of MS. materials for a history of the Canary Islands, compiled by Don Agustin Millares, of Las Palmas, in the Grand Canary, by whom they were courteously shown to him. Speaking of the way in which the natives translated their real names into Spanish, the ancient authority copied by Don Agustin says: "He who was called *Dara* translated his name and called himself Casas, in the same way that *Bentagaire* translated his and called himself Sierra; and so, many others. As a matter of fact, however, *Bentagaire* meant 'son or native of the lofty ridge.'" I take it that this word *tagaire* is the same as *taraire*, which Dr. Chil gives as an alternative name of the Peak of Tenerife, otherwise called *Teide*.

Cabuco, "a goat-fold." This word is of course suggestive of the Latin *caper* and *capra*.

Cancha or *Cuncha*, "a small dog." As the dogs of the island are all small to the eyes of an European, no importance need be attached to the adjective. This word has already been spoken of in connection with the apparition of the god in the form of a dog, called *Hucanech*, and Viera once makes the mistake of applying to this spectre the word *Achicanac*, which is evidently merely *cancha* with the definite article, but without the qualifying syllable *Hu*. This word *Cancha* is of course irresistibly suggestive of the Latin *canis*, but the root, which we ourselves have in the word *hound*, is so very common, existing, I believe, even in Chinese, that too much ought not to be made of it. It is perhaps worth noticing that this word supplies the commonly received etymology of the name *Canary*, according to the theory that these islands were called the Dog-Isles, in the same way that Spain herself was so called by the Phœnicians from the abundance of rabbits (*shaphan*) which they there observed; but, admitting the derivation, there may be in this case a higher and religious sense, from the local deity or divine apparition of the *Hucancha*.

Cel, "the moon." The Greek *σελήνη* is at once suggested. I would here mention a word which is not in Dr.

Chil's work. The Rev. Don Claudio Marrero gave me *chafeña* as signifying "a small portion of toasted grain," and Don Manuel de Ossuna has the same for "toasted grain," with a verb *chafar*, meaning "to finish grinding." It is certainly very suggestive of the English word *chaff*. It may however be formed from the article, and a word *afaro*, or *ofaro*, signifying "grain," and which is given by Dr. Chil.

Cofe-Cofe, the plant called goose-foot. I mention this unimportant word because, if it be genuine, it is remarkable as the only known instance of a repetitive word in the language; but it seems to me, for this very reason, to be more probable that it was a mistake caused by the native informant repeating the word, in order to impress it upon his Spanish auditor.

Coran, "man" or "husband" (*hombre*). This is given by Abreu Galindo alone.

Coruja, the red owl. This may be onomatopœic, from the bird's note, and so analogous to the Latin *corvus*.

Cuca and *Cucaha*. The Spanish writers inform us that, while prostitution did not exist among the natives, divorce and re-marriage were not uncommon. After a divorce the children of the marriage so dissolved were designated by a peculiar term, a boy *cuca*, and a girl *cucaha*, which latter is also spelled *Zucaha*, *Zuchaha*, and *Zucasa*. Abreu Galindo gives *Achicuca* for the male, which is another proof, if any more were wanted, that *Achi* is the article. From their peculiar position, unknown to Spanish law, the Spaniards sometimes call these children illegitimate, and sometimes emphasize the fact of their legitimacy. The great value of these words lies in the evident fact that *Cucaha* is a regularly formed feminine from *cuca*.

Chamato, "woman" or "wife" (*mujer*). This is given by Abreu Galindo alone. The root may possibly be *ma* or *mo* as in *mayec* and some other words signifying women. *Ch* is probably the article and *to* perhaps a kind of superlative, as in the word *Menceyto*, of which presently.

Chivato, "a kid." This is given by Berthelot only,

and strikes me as very suspicious, that is, as regards the meaning, as *ch* would naturally be the article and *to* looks like a superlative. It may be a technical term for the first or largest among kids. In connection with this word I may cite the following passage extracted for me by Mr. Birch from an article upon "The Guanche Race" in the *Revista de Canarias* (I. 131):—"In the way in which our peasantry furnish their houses, in their dress, their customs, their games, their fights, their tastes, their exercises, their diet, their ways of showing pleasure, &c., &c., there is much more that is Guanche than that is Spanish. We preserve also many words of their [original] language, even without reckoning the names of a great number of villages and other places. Take, for instance, *gofio*, *hara*, *chiva*, *chafeña*, *guañar*, &c." *Gofio* is a kind of porridge; *hara*, as already mentioned, either a "she-goat" or a "fold"; *chafeña*, a portion of toasted grain; of *guañar*, which sounds like a verb, I know nothing; but *chiva* may, I think, be the root of *chivato*, and possibly means a kid. If so, it may enter into the topographical names *chivisaya* and *chivara*, and the latter, from the root *oro* or *goro*, "assembly," may mean a place for herding kids together.

Echeyde, *Echeydey*, and *Egeide*, also *Teyde*, *Teida*, and *Teide*. In these variants the transmutation of the soft *t* is very evident, as well as the prefix of the vocal sound to the sibilant. This was the name of the Peak, and was translated *hell* by the Spaniards. It was supposed to be the residence of the evil spirit which sent out the destructive eruptions, &c. There is, however, nothing to show whether the word be the name of the place, and got the signification of *hell* from particular circumstances, or whether it is a regular word meaning *hell*, which was merely applied to the place in consequence of these circumstances. As *ech* or *t* would appear to be clearly the article, the root must be *ida* or some similar word. On the one hypothesis it recalls the proper name of the Mounts Ida, and on the other that of Hades. The Peak is also said to have been called *Taraire*, but this does not

look like the same name, and, as already observed, I am inclined to identify it with the *Tagaire* which appears in the derivative *Bentagaire* and which we are informed meant “lofty ridge.”

Fayra. Cited by Dr. Chil from Bory de St. Vincent, and mentioned in the *Revista de Canarias* (III. 306). It is said to have been used in Lanzerote as well as Tenerife to indicate a round stone in a place of worship. Franz von Loher, in his book “*Los Germanos en las Canarias*” (p. 130) suggests the connection of this word with the Gothic *vehio* “sacred,” *veihan*, “to consecrate,” and *veiha*, “a priest.” There was certainly somewhere in the Canaries an high-priest whose title was *Faycan*, but I have not come across any proof that such a personage existed in Tenerife.

Guaiota (Nuñez de la Peña) or *Guayota* (Viera), “the devil,” *Huayote*, “the spirit of evil,” according to Viana. This was the spirit supposed to live on the Peak and send out the eruptions. The root is evidently *Guaya*, “spirit,” and if there is a bad sense, it must be in the termination *ota*. It seems to me, however, possible that this may be only an error for a superlative termination in *to* (*guayato*), and mean “the mightyspirit.” And it must be remembered that the Spaniards had not only a great tendency, like the ancient Romans, to credit the savages with whom they came in contact with a participation in their own religious ideas, but also to look upon their gods as devils: in this sense Marin y Cubas applies the word “demonio” to the apparition of Hucancha, which was looked on by the natives as divine. The difference between *-ta* and *-to* may possibly be one of gender, as in the Greek *-τατος* and *-τατη*; especially as the termination *a* in *Guaya* and *Iguaya* looks like a feminine.

Guan, “son of —” (Viera). This is the interesting word which also appears as *Ben* and even *Ven*, and is the root of such words as *Guanchtinerf* and the corruption *Guanche*. I need only remark here, to show the frequency of the initial digamma, that Dr. Chil gives more than eighty words so beginning, while there are thirty com-

mening with *Ben*, and how many of the other *B*'s or *V*'s may be really the same it is impossible to tell. In connection with this word *Guan*, I think this is the best place to cite another sentence from the article upon the Guanches in the *Revista de Canarias* already referred to. The writer there says:—"The [word] '*Gua*' which the peasants of the North of Tenerife use as an exclamation, undoubtedly comes from the Guanche word *Guan*, which signifies a *man*." The fact of this exclamation, which I have not found mentioned elsewhere, is undoubtedly curious. *Guan*, however, does not mean "a man" generally, but, as we have seen, "a son" or "native." And again, I cannot agree that *Gua* is undoubtedly derived from it. It might just as well be derived from any other word commencing with *Gua*, or, as seems to me, be identical with the Welsh *gwae*, the Italian *guai*, the English *woe*, and the Latin *væ*.

To pile up additional proofs as to the existence and meaning of this word *Guan* is needless. I will only remark that out of several compounds from it in Dr. Chil's vocabulary of the language of Grand Canary, one is *Guanarteme*, which is recorded to have meant "son of Arteme," and in justice to the writer of the article in the *Revista de Canarias*, I will add that this name has a variant *Guadartheme*, which, along with some other words, goes to show that, in Grand Canary at any rate, the final *n* was sometimes dropped. Here, however, I had perhaps also better mention the fact that there is said to have been in Grand Canary a word *Guayre*, meaning a man in the full enjoyment of political privileges. This word Franz von Loehér compares or rather identifies with the Gothic *wair*, "a man"; ancient German *wer*. I think he might also have remembered the Welsh *gwr* (plural, *gwyr*) and the Latin *vir*.

Guanac, "the state," *Guanoth*, "the protector of the state," and *Guañac*, "the commonwealth," seem to be closely connected with *Guan*. The meaning may be children (*sc.*, of the island) *i.e.*, the people. The "pro-

tector” seems to be a pure craze of Viana. It is indeed quite possible that this is not a separate word at all, but is only *Guan* in the plural or with a pronominal suffix, perhaps of the third person, meaning “his people.”

Guanhot, “favour,” according to Bory de St. Vincent. If this is correct, it seems to have the same root, *wan*, “desire or luck,” found in *Venus* or *wench*.

Guaya and *Iguaya*, “the spirit.” The prefix *i* in *Iguaya* is remarkable, as it occurs so often between the article and the noun; it may, after all, be only a part of the article attached to *Guaya* by Marin y Cubas by mistake. This root *Guaya* is found continually, not only in religious phrases, but also in those relating to life and death. It is impossible not to be reminded by it of the Greek *βίος* (Latin *vita*), which, be it remembered, also once began with the digamma. On the other hand, there may be a connection with the Welsh *wawr*, and Latin *aurora* or *aura*, and this is made rather more probable by the feminine termination in *a*.

Guentegueste, from *Gueste* or *Tegueste*, the name of a place. The word seems clearly derived from *Guan*, *Wen*, or *Ben*, “child,” the article, and *Gueste*: and to mean simply “natives of Tegueste.”

Guijon, or *Guyon*, “the ship.” It occurs in *Arguihon* or *Arguijon*, said to be the ancient name of Santa Cruz, and to signify “see ships.” If this latter be correct, it is a plural, and another instance of a plural formed in *n*.

Guirre or *Guirhe*, “a vulture.” This word is also said by Glas to signify ravens or crows. Perhaps the meaning is simply a predatory bird.

Harimaguada, which Marin y Cubas is also represented as spelling at least once *Marimaguada*, “a vestal or nun.” The word *Maguada* is also found by itself in the same sense. This word contains the syllable *ma* as in *mayec*, “mother,” and *chamato*, “wife.” The next syllable may possibly be connected with *Guay* in the sense of spiritual, or, if the root be *aguada*, and the *a* or *o* of *ma* or *mo* have merely coalesced with the initial, or if the root be *guada*, there may be some connection

with the Latin *aqua*, or the English *water*, since one of the principal duties of these nuns was the ceremonial washing of the newly-born, which the Spaniards compared, or rather identified with baptism, and in consequence of which the nuns are sometimes called baptizers. This word *Harimaguada* has attracted great notice in the Teutonic school. Franz von Loeber says:¹ “*Harimagada*, the Priestess. *Magadas*, virgins; *hari*, multitude or people; *harimagadas*, i.e. community or body of maidens, a word seemingly compounded like the old German *heriknecht*, which signifies an army of soldiers.” And another extract sent me by Mr. Birch, who has unfortunately forgotten to mark it with the author’s name: “*Harimagada*, vestal virgin, &c., cf. *Hari* for *Halig*, holy; and Gothic, *magath*; old High German, *magad*; new High German, *magd*; English, *maid*. Unless *Hari*, old High German, *exercitus*, *army*, be the root. I incline to the former.” I admit that, to my mind, if the Gothic and old German words be correct, the argument appears to me to be a very strong one. There is a proper name of a place *Guadamojete*. Can this mean a nunnery?

Hecirmas, “stockings,” (Marin y Cubas,) and *Huirnas*, “leather stockings,” (Nuñez de la Peña.) It seems doubtful whether this can be the same word as *Huirmas* or *Huyrmas*, which is translated “large sleeves” by Viana. If so, and the translations are correct, it is only like the Germans calling gloves *hand-shoes*.

Hirahi, *Hiraji*, or *Xiraxi*, “the sky,” also used in the sense of the universe. This word is of constant use in the compounds, religious and other, and occurs in the sort of coronation oath recorded by Viana and Viera, spelled *gerage* and *hirai*. In these latter cases it would seem to form part of some such phrase as “all under heaven.”

Irichen or *Trichen*, “wheat.” This word is so obviously the same as the Latin *triticum* that it awakens a suspicion that it may have been introduced through

¹ Los Germanos, p. 89.

the Spanish *trigo*, especially if the *g* in the latter were (as is sufficiently probable) pronounced as a guttural. The *t* would easily have been mistaken by the natives for the article, and so led to *irichen*.

Jarco, "the deceased."

Herco and *Xerco*, "a shoe."

Magec, "the sun," according to Nuñez de la Peña and Viera; and Marin y Cubas says that the Canariotes swore by "*Majec*, i.e. the sun;" and considered the soul to be immortal as being the daughter of the sun. I own however that I regard this with great suspicion, because *Aman* has this sense. Moreover, this word has a startling resemblance to *mayec*, "mother," whether regard be had to the similarity of form between *g* and *y*, or to that of sound if *g* be taken as a guttural, of which latter confusion an example may be cited in the fact that the Spaniards spelled the Tenerifan name of the mocan fruit *Hoja*, *Yoja*, and *Yoya*. A possible hypothesis is that the planet Venus may have been called the Divine Mother, and that some Spaniard may have pointed to the rising or setting sun when the planet was near it, and asked what it was called, and a mistake have thus arisen. I hardly think it likely that the sun itself was regarded as female, as by the Germans, since its Divine titles were transferred to our LORD.

Mencey, "sovereign or king." I have already spoken of this root under *Achimencey*, and remarked that the distinguishing notion seems to be *height*, or, indeed, *eminence*.

Menceyto, a title of GOD. It is evident that this is a kind of superlative from *Mencey*, "high or noble," and must thus mean "the Most High." This form of superlative seems to occur in other words, such as *Chamato*, "the chief woman or wife," and *Orotu(vo)*, "the chief assembly," it is suggestive of the Greek superlative in *-τατος*.

Maja or *Manja*, "a landing-place." Perhaps the same as *Amanse* and *Manse*, "a shore."

Morángana or *Moriángana*, "strawberries." Perhaps one of the *an* syllables indicates a plural.

Oche, "melted butter."

Quevey, *Quebehi*, and *Quevihiera*. Marin y Cubas¹ mentions that the king was called *Quevey*. An attempt has been made to connect this word with the Arabic كبر, "greatness," and by von Loeber with the Gothic *gabei*, or *gabigs*, "rich." The Latin *caput* is certainly quite as similar. We find *Quebehi* or *Quevechi* appearing in different authors and with varieties of spelling, as "the Royal dignity;" and it is used in the phrase *Quebehi Bencomo*, as meaning "the Royal dignity of Bencom," king of Taoro. The addition of the syllable *hi* therefore seems to indicate the formation of an abstract noun corresponding in sense to kingship, and rather suggestive of the aspirated sibilant in the English *-ship*, or the Latin and English *-tion*. Lastly, Glas says that *Quevehiera* means "'Your Highness,' when speaking to the king." There appears therefore to be here a nominal suffix to *Quebehi*, signifying either *thine* or *your*. If he is literally right and the meaning is *your*, this English word certainly finds a very curious cognate in *iera*.

Reste, "defence or prop." It is constantly employed of Princes, seemingly in the sense of Protector, and suggests the English word *rest* in the sense of a prop.

Sunta, "a war fleet."

Tabona, a stone knife or axe.

Tagoror and *Tahoror*, "the assembly." This is the root of the surviving place-names Taoro and Orotava. The national assembly was held at the great dragon-tree which stood until comparatively a few years ago in the garden of the Marques de Sauzal at Villa de Orotava, but the word itself is generic, since Don Manuel de Ossuna mentions a spot at Anaga called *Tagoro*. It was doubtless that where the provincial assembly of the sub-kingdom of Anaga met. The Vale of Orotava was called *Orotapala* and *Arautapala*. Nor do I regard it as improbable that the *ta* in Orotava may have had the superlative signification, since the assembly of Orotava was the

¹ Cited in Chil, pp. 38, 39.

supreme council of the island, and that *pala*, through the resemblance of *v* (found in *Orotava*) to *b* and *p*, may be cognate with the word *Vale* or *Valley*.

Tamarco, a coat of skins.

Tamo, *Tano*, and *Taro*, "barley."

Tamonante, "the Priestess." Dr. Chil gives this as Tenerifan, both as a title and a proper name. As I have already said, while bowing to his authority, I have only noticed it as the title of a particular witch in Fuerteventura. I will only remark that it contains the usual syllable *ma* or *mo* of female titles.

Tenerife, the name of the island, also found as *Chenerif* and *Chenerfe*. An attempt has been made to derive this word from the Spanish *infierno*, and I do not regard it as impossible that the mediæval Spanish sailors may have so called the island, either from resemblance of sound, from the spectacle of the black volcano, from an attempt to translate *Teide*, or from a combination of these causes, but I cannot accept this as the etymology of the name. What seems to me a still wilder shot is to say that it is derived from two supposed native words, *thener*, "mountain," and *ife*, "white," the former of which I regard as mainly, and the latter as wholly, guess-work. I believe the *Te* or *Che* to be the article, and, from the omission of the *i* in *Chenerfe*, *Bentinerfe*, *Guanchtinerf*, &c., that the ictus was originally upon the antepenultima, whence it has been transferred to the penultima only in accordance with the usual Spanish rule for words ending in a vowel. The word *Tenerife* also occurs in the island of Hierro¹ as the name of a mountain, and my own belief is that *nerife*, *nerfe*, or *enerfe*, simply means "mountain" or some particular species of mountain, such as a volcano.

Titogan, "the sky," according to Bory de St. Vincent. It is curious, if correct, since we know that the sky was called *Xiraxi*. It is possible that it may mean the clouds, that prevailing feature of the Tenerifan sky, and seems to me the same as *Tigotan*, "the heavens," in the dialect of the Isle of Palma, plural of *Tigot*, "heaven."

¹ Chil, p. 149.

Zonfa, “the navel.” This is rather suggestive of the word *Zone*, “a girdle.”

It would, as I have before indicated, be possible to give a list of words, many times exceeding the foregoing, but they would be nearly all proper names of places or persons, or of plants and other things peculiar to the island or its inhabitants. But the foregoing are at least among the chief of those with which I have met which invite comparison by designating things which have names elsewhere.

I now proceed to take the few surviving sentences of the language. I begin with three place-names.

Arguihon or *Arguijon*, as I have already remarked, is said to be the ancient name of Santa Cruz, and to signify “See ships” (*Mira navios*.) If so, since we know that *guihon* is “a ship” or “ships,” *ar* must mean “see.”

Alzanxiquian abcana hacxerax, according to Nuñez de la Peña, and *Alzanxiquian abcanabac xerac*, according to Espinosa, signifies “the place of the union of the son of the great,” indicating the place where the mysterious colonists settled near Icod. I confess at once that I can make nothing out of this name. The syllable *al* occurs at the beginning of six other proper names of places and of two proper names of persons, and *xerax* or *xerac* is clearly the sky.

Armegnine is rendered by Berthelot “the place of the sheepfold.” I conjecture it to be the same word with *Arbenime* and *Armenime*, but unless it be that it has anything to do with the Latin *Armenta*, or that *egnine*, &c., is connected with *ana*, *haña*, *jaña* (Latin *agnus*) I can throw no light upon it.

The remaining sentences are closely connected with the subject of grammar. Viera says: “The language of all the [Canary] islanders in common is indeclinable, and the Friar Father John Galindo draws the same conclusion

in the MS. history of the conquest.” Dr. Chil remarks that he cannot find any such assertion in the works of Galindo; and I may add that it is incredible. It is a well-known fact that the languages of savages in especial are very complex in their grammar. Among pure languages it is observable that the tendency towards simplification which ultimately ends in indeclinability is the result of literary culture. Chinese is, I believe, indeclinable, and Coptic may be said to be nearly so, but this phenomenon is owing to the vast number of ages during which these languages have been used for literary purposes. But there is unfortunately such a thing as a speech which is not a pure language. I mean international jargons. “Pigeon-English”—probably the most degraded of all existing vehicles for the expression of thought—is, I believe, indeclinable. And the remark of Viera arouses the strong suspicion that he and the Spanish conquerors in general did not know what they were talking about, that the dialect in which they communicated with the natives was only a kind of “pigeon,” and that consequently anything which they wrote down may be utterly or almost worthless as an indication of grammatical inflection. This supposition falls in only too well with the fact that the preserved words and sentences are so remarkably wanting in anything like inflected terminations, and especially in terminations which have nothing corresponding to them in Spanish, such as case-endings. At the same time, miserably scanty, corrupt, and untrustworthy as the materials are, and imperfectly as they justify the remark of Dr. Chil that it would be possible to form out of them a grammatical scheme, I think that they still offer some points which are worthy of analysis and remark. I am not aware that any attention has ever yet been paid to these points. To some of them I have already called attention in connection with vocabulary.

There may be said to be nine sentences preserved. There is much that is the same in each or most of them, and while much of them is unfortunately unintelligible,

enough is apparent to show that the Spanish translations are untrustworthy except as conveying the very loosest idea of the general sense. It is perhaps convenient to begin with the shortest.

1. *Zahañat guayohec* (Viana), "I am thy vassal."

I identify *guayohec* with the root *guaya*, "spirit, or soul," and suppose it to mean, "I live." It supplies an instance of the first person singular present.

Zahañat. The meaning "vassal" given to this word, induces me to identify it with *caxna*, "serf," which has already been noticed in the form *Achicaxna*. But here there is the peculiarity that the word means "thy vassal," and that it has a suffix in *t*.

2, 3, 4. The next three sentences are to a great extent identical, and I preface them by remarking that Viana tells us that the word *Agonec* meant "I swear." Here we have to notice that the first person singular present again ends in *ec*, as in the only other instance, viz., *Guayohec*.

Agonec, acoron inat zahaña guañac reste mencey, "We swear by the day of thy coronation to make ourselves the defenders of thee and of thy race."

Here Viana directly contradicts himself by saying that *Agonec* means "*We* swear," instead of "*I* swear," as he elsewhere asserts. This may be part of the "pigeon" principle, or he may be speaking loosely in giving the meaning of a collective oath. In any case, in all the other examples where the word occurs the sense given is singular, and, as already remarked, the termination agrees with that of *Guayohec*.

The other words are all known separately, with one exception. *Acoron* is "God," *zahaña*, "vassal," *guañac*, "the commonwealth," *reste*, "protection," *mencey*, "king" or "prince." The remaining word is *inat*. I barely suggest that the *at* may be the article belonging to *zahaña*, and that the *in* may be a preposition similar to the Latin, so that *inat zahaña* would be similar to the Latin phrase *in subditos*. And I think the words may be the beginning of some formula in the sense of

“I swear, O God, toward the subjects of the state a protector prince —” with some words meaning “to be” omitted. Or the *t* in *inat* may be an indication of the second person singular as in *zahañat*, so that the sense may be, “I swear, O God, before Thee —”

Agogñe, Yacoron, Iñatzahaña, Chacoñamet. This is also from Viana, who translates, “I swear by the bone of him who has made me great.” Núñez de la Peña gives the words thus:—*Agoñe, Yacoron, Inatzahama, Chasonamet*, and translates, “I swear by the bone of that day wherein thou hast made thyself great.” According to Dr. Chil (p. 49), Espinosa gives the same, except that, with Viana, he circumflexes the *n*’s in *iñatzahaña* and restores the *c* instead of *s* in *chaconamet*, but according to the quotation from the same author given by the same my learned guide on p. 40, the words were *Agoñe, Yacoron, Iñaltzahaña, Macoñanaet*. The phrase about the bone alludes to the fact that the emblem of power carried by the Tenerifan princes was a human thigh-bone believed to be that of the founder of their dynasty. It was with this that their inauguration was performed, and it seems to have been spoken of as a convertible expression with their power or dignity, much as we speak of “the crown” or “the throne.” The omission of the *c* at the end of *Agoñe* seems to imply that the sound indicated by it was very slight or obscure. The prefix of *y* to *Acoron* may perhaps indicate a vocative, as with the Arabic *Ya*, and our own (and the Latin) *O*. *Iñatzahaña* is, of course, although now written in one word, the same phrase as in the first oath. There remains *Chaconamet*, which also occurs in the next sentence.

Menceito acoran inatzahana Maconamet. “This King and God have charged me (or, raised me) to be lord.” So Marin y Cubas. *Maconamet* is doubtless a copyist’s or printer’s mistake for *Chasonamet*. Espinosa has:—*Menceyto Acoran inat zahaña chasonameth*, and translates, “this King and this God have raised me to the throne.” That *Menceyto Acoran* simply means “God Most High,” can hardly be doubted, and therefore, that the general

meaning is that the prince had been raised up to reign over subjects. The crux is in the word *Chaconamet*, which we find translated in four different ways—"has made me great"—"hast made thyself great"—"raised me to be lord"—and "raised me to the throne." It will be remarked that where Espinosa translates it by the second person singular he ends it in *t*, which seems to be the pronominal suffix for that person, whereas, when he renders it by the third person plural he adds an *h* (*th*). The obscurity is in the questions of the root and precise meaning of the verb, and of what is the element which indicates the perfect tense. It is possible that the *ch* in *chaconamet* may represent the aspirated or modified sound of *t*, so that the syllable may really be *ta*: and the next sentence supplies a possible instance to show that the perfect tense was formed by such a prefix.

5. *Achoran, nun habec, sahagua reste guagnat, sahur banot gerage sote*. "I swear by the bone of him who has carried the crown to follow his example and to make the happiness of my subjects." So Viana. *Atchoran, non-hunhabet sahagua reste gouanac saour banot hirai sote*. "I swear by the bone of him who has occupied the throne to imitate him in taking heed to the commonwealth." So Viera. Here the actual word "I swear" is omitted. *Achoran* is of course "God." *Sahagua* I take to be *zahaña* with *u* substituted for *n* by printer's error. *Reste* is "protection," *guagnat* or *gouanac*, "the state," unless the *t* or *c* be a mistake for *th*, and the latter be a pronominal suffix of the third person singular, giving *guanoth* the sense of "his people," and *gerage* or *hirai* the same as *Xeraxi*, "the sky." If this be correct, the words *gerage sote* or *hirai sote* may mean "under heaven," *sote* having something in common with the Latin *subter*. I take it as more probable that it should be a parallel and independent derivative from the same root than a corruption of the Spanish *soto*, although this also is of course possible. In any case, if it be a preposition, it shows a custom of placing such after the word governed by them.

6. *Achit guanoth mencey reste Bencom.* “ [Long] live Bencom our lord and our protector !” So Viana.

Mencey and *reste* are of course known. The worst of such a phrase as this is that the translation is probably idiomatic. Even in European translations of Scripture we get such phrases as “ O king, live for ever,” “ God save the king” and “ May the king live for ever,” used in a way which, if they stood alone, would be almost fatal to the comparative grammarian ; and here we get the Spanish *Viva* used in such a way that it may no more resemble the grammatical construction of the original than if it were employed to render “ three cheers for —.” Viana, to whom we owe this sentence, is also he who gives us the word *guanoth* as meaning “ the state,” or rather, as he diffuses it, “ the protector of the state.” I have already suggested that *guanoth* may really mean “ his people,” and this gains some additional force from the fact that the text of the phrase before us is represented by Webb and Berthelot¹ as *Achit guañoth Mencey, Reste Bencom*, as though *guañoth mencey* signified “ lord of his people.” It is also Viana who gives us *zahañat* as meaning “ thy vassal.” It is possible therefore that the *t* at the end of *Achit* may be here also a pronominal suffix of the second person singular, and that the meaning may be “ Live thou, O Bencom, the commonwealth’s protecting lord !” The next sentence perhaps throws some light upon the question.

7. *Guaya, echey efiai nasfthc sahaña.* This also is from Viana, who renders, “ May he live to feel the evils of destiny.” The same sentence is given by Webb and Berthelot² as *Guayax echey, ofiac nasethe sahana*.

Here we find *sahaña* as the last word, and I can hardly doubt that it is *zahaña* or *caxna* once more. The preceding word *nasfthc* is evidently corrupt in Viana, as it cannot be pronounced, and I am inclined to adopt the more modern reading and to connect it with a word which occurs in the next sentence, and suppose it to

¹ Histoire Naturelle des Iles Canaries, I. 124.

² Loc. cit.

mean "to make himself a slave" or some similar sense. At first sight the two opening words *Guaya*, *echey* bear considerable resemblance to *Achit guanoth* in the preceding sentence, and it may well be that *Achit* and *echey* are both imperatives or optatives of some verb meaning "to live," but differing in person. *Guaya*, however, has not the *n* which appears to connect *guanoth*, "the state," with *guan*, "a son," and it is given us by itself as meaning *life*. I am inclined therefore to think that the meaning may be simply "Life!" or "Let him live! that he may be a slave." Of *efiai* I can offer no explanation. The sense seems to be somewhat that of the Latin *ut*.

8. *Tanaga guayoch*, *archimenceu no haya dir hanido sahec chungu petut*. "The powerful father of the fatherland died and left the natives orphans." So Viana. And the same sense is ascribed by Nuñez de la Peña to the words *Tanagaguayoch archimenceu nahaia dir hanido fahet chungu pelut*.

There is here no repetitive phrase like *padre de la patria*, and it is therefore at once evident that this translation is false. *Archimenceu* may be taken as the equivalent for *el valoroso*, and it is worth remarking that in this sentence alone, and in both forms of it, the word *mencey* is made to terminate in *u* instead of in *y* or *i*.

Tanaga guayoch, two words according to Viana, but only one according to Nuñez de la Peña. *Guayoch* is evidently the same as *Guaya*, "the soul," and the expression translated "died" must therefore be equivalent to some such phrase as "gave up the ghost." Hence it would appear probable that the termination *ch* here has some such sense as *his*. It is conceivable that the *ch* may be a mistake for *th*.

It is remarkable that in Palma the expression *Yacaguare* or *Vacaguare* is recorded to have meant "I wish to die." The *ré* would therefore seem to be either a future or an optative, unless indeed it be only the equivalent of the *ec* or *[y]é* of *agonec* or *agoñe*; perhaps both. Assuming *aca* and *aga* to be the same, the sound is very similar to

that of the Latin *agere*, and the sense would be somewhat that of *agere vitam*.

There remains the first syllable *tan*, which is thus placed in the light of a preformative indicating the past tense, and corresponding to the *cha* or *ta* which is found at the beginning of the past tense word *chaconamet*.

On the other words there is little to say.

No or *na* has the appearance of being the conjunction.

Haya or *haia* contains the vowel *a* which is found in the other words indicating the past tense.

Dir. In the next sentence, in which, as in this, occurs the expression "native-born," the word *der* occurs. There the expression is in the singular, here it is in the plural, and the syllable immediately following it is *han*, which may be the plural termination in *en* attached by mistake to the next word.

Hanido sahec (or *fahet*) *chunga petut* or *pelut*. In this last word it is evident that Viana has made a mistake by crossing his *l*, or Nuñez de la Peña by omitting to cross his *t*. If the latter, and the sense be "fatherless," there is some suggestion of a resemblance to *pater* or *father*.

9. *Chucar, guayoc archimencey reste Benchom sanec vander relac nazet zahañe*. So Viera.

Chucar, guyet archimencey reste Bencom sanet vandet relac machet zahara. So Nuñez de la Peña.

Chusar, guaye archimencey reste Bencom sanat velac naset zabañec. So Viana.

They all translate alike, "Kill not thou the noble native-born brother of Bencom, who yields himself prisoner." The chief variant is that Viana totally omits the word *vander*, the last syllable of which may perhaps signify "native-born."

Chucar. It is remarkable that this word ends in *ar*, the syllable *ar* before *guihon*, "ships," in the phrase *Arguihon*, "see ships." It may therefore be a suffix of the second person imperative, and if so, the body of the verb in *Arguihon* must be omitted.

Guayoc, guyet or *guaye*. This word is evidently "the

soul or life." It has also evidently got a suffix, but as the authors all give this differently, it is impossible to tell what it was. I conjecture that *chucar guayoc* may mean "spare his life," somewhat as *tanagaguayoch* means "he gave up his life." And the termination may be the same and mean "his."

Archimencey reste Bencom. The word *reste*, "protector," is omitted by all the translators, who also all apply the title *Archimencey* to the brother, and not to Bencom, of which I feel very doubtful.

Sanec, sanet or *sanat*, by an exhaustive process, ought to be "brother."

Of *vander* I have spoken. I should have been inclined to suggest that *van* was a form of *guan*, and that *der* might have something to do with *terra*, the whole making the sense of "son of the soil," but I am deterred by the fact that in the preceding sentence, of which we have two texts, and in which occur the words "native" and *dir*, the *dir* is not preceded by anything of the nature of *van*.

Relac nazet (or *machet* or *naset*) *zahañe, zahara* or *zabañec*. The last word I take to be again *caxna*, "a slave." *Nazet* may be the same as *nasethe* or *nasfthe* and mean "become;" *relac* ought to conceal the relative pronoun, if there be one.

These complete the matter which has been before me so far as I have been able to use it for the purpose of any analysis either of vocabulary or grammar, and I will now proceed to summarize the results.

The Article.

Marin y Cubas remarks generally of all the natives of the Canary Archipelago that "they begin most words with the letter T, the accent of which they pronounce, but without finishing it; and this is especially the case in Tenerife." Accordingly, we find in all these vocab-

ularies a great many words beginning with T, but in that of Tenerife a very considerable number beginning with *ach* or *ch*, or some closely similar sound, and we find the same word beginning with one or the other, as *Chenerfe* and *Chenerife* for *Tenerife*. It seems to me evident therefore that this is a softened or modified sound of *t*, like that in the English termination *-tion*. The exact sound is perhaps rather difficult to settle. There are two cases of *atch*, as though to emphasize the *t* sound, but there are still more of *ac*. Assuming the *c* to have been written for *s*, I think that a Spaniard would have been not unlikely to represent the English sound of *sh* (as in *-tion*) by *c* as well as by *ch*; and there may have been provincial varieties of pronunciation. That this *t*, modified or not, was the definite article, I confess I have no doubt. This seems to me clear from the way in which we find the same word with it or without it, and even the Spanish word *año* provided with this prefix in order to express "the year." There appears also to have been in this article no distinction of gender, at any rate in the sense of sex, as we find equally *Achimayec*, "the mother," and *Achicuca*, "the son."

As to its vocalization, the majority of the words simply begin with *ch* followed by a vowel, but in many we have such a form as *Achi* and sometimes *Ach* followed by a consonant. I fancy that the sound was very obscure, and indeed Marin y Cubas says that "all these islanders pronounce with their tongues striking against their palates as if they were stammering or had an impediment of speech," and Viera says that "the sounds were short, and they pronounced from the back of their throats, like Africans." With regard to the vocalization of the prefix *t*, I may recall the fact that the Coptic definite article in ⲧ seems to be vocalized indifferently as ⲉⲧ or ⲧ, and when it becomes aspirated into Ⲑ in the Memphitic dialect, it is not always followed by a vowel. This Coptic article ⲧ is, however, exclusively feminine, and in the more ancient Egyptian is not prefixed but suffixed. The closest parallel to the Tenerifan article with which I am

acquainted is the English definite article *the*, with its aspirated *t* vocalized by a following *e*, which indeed is sometimes elided before another vowel in poetry or in some provincial dialects. The English article also, like the Tenerifan, sometimes appears as an unaspirated *t*, as is indeed often the case in Yorkshire, and is perhaps its old form, analogous to that of the Greek article.

The Noun.

It is to be observed that a large number of the nouns end in vowels, and that the tendency to so terminate them would be much less strong in a Spanish than in an Italian writer. At the same time, the recorded words can hardly be deemed free from the results of such a tendency. Thus, Viana gives *Bencomo* in his translation of the exclamation in honour of Bencom, although he gives *Bencom* in the text.

The words *cuca* and *cucaha* show that a regular feminine was formed from the masculine by the addition of *ha*, although they also show that the masculine itself sometimes, as in Latin, ended in *a*. There seems, moreover, to have been rather a tendency to end feminine proper names in *a*. Thus, Bencom had a son called *Deriman* and a daughter called *Dacil*, but his wife was named *Sañagua* and another daughter *Ramagua*, while the daughter of Raito, Prince of Anaga, was called *Guacimara*. But with the exception of this tendency I have noticed nothing like sex-terminations.

I have already noticed the preformative *hu* which distinguished the divine dog Hucancha from an ordinary dog; and the postformative *to* by which *Menceyto*, "the Most High," is distinguished from *Mencey*, "a Prince," and which probably appears also in such words as *Chamato* and *Chivato*, (with a possible form *-ta*, as in *Guayota* and *Orotava*). This formative *-to* (and perhaps *-ta*) seems therefore to me to be of the nature of a superlative, or of such a termination as the Italian *-one*.

Of plurals there are a certain number in *s*, such as *Hecirmas*, "stockings." But I am inclined to attribute

these merely to Spanish writers as an introduction from their own language, somewhat as we might find an Englishman in speaking of Wales talk of *Eisteddfods* instead of *Eisteddfodau*. I have given some grounds for believing that the real plural was in *an*, *en*, or *-n*. I confess I was astonished at this, because I knew of it only in German and in a few English words mostly referring to pairs, and I had always looked upon it as a survival of the dual which had in German, as in some Greek and Gaelic words, come to be used as a plural. My surprise was reduced by finding it in Berber. At the same time, I do not think it impossible that there may have been a dual in *-en* (so in Palma *tigotan*, "the heavens," like the Hebrew *shamayim*; and in Hierro *Eraoranhán* may have really signified the two deities there worshipped, as *ταῖν θεῶν* in the inscriptions at Eleusis refers to the two great goddesses) and a plural in *s*, as we have in English, sing. *shoe*, dual, *shoon*, plural, *shoes*, or sing. *eye*, dual, *e'en*, and plural, *eyes*.

For case-endings I have looked very carefully, but I have observed nothing which I should be willing to suggest with any confidence as such. They do not exist in Spanish, and would therefore have been peculiarly liable to be omitted or confounded by imperfectly educated Spanish writers, especially if the latter found the whole pronunciation obscure, and entertained the idea that the language was indeclinable. *Tanagaguayoch archimenceu*, "the Prince died." Here *archimenceu* can hardly be otherwise than a nominative, and in this sentence alone it ends in *u*. Thus also some words which seem to be genitive end in *o*, *i*, or *y*, such as *Quebehi Bencomo*, "the Majesty of Bencom," *Guayaxiraxi*, "the soul of the sky," and *archimencey*, if I am right in suggesting that *Chucar guayoc Archimencey* means "spare the life of the Prince." Again, in the formula, *Agoñe yacoron*, assuming it to mean "I swear, O God," there may be a vocative in *y* after the manner of the Arabic *ya*. And if in the phrase *gerage sote* we are to see in *sote* anything in common with the Latin *subter* (Italian

sotto and Spanish *soto*), the terminal *e* of *gerage* may be a sort of ablative or locative. But the material is too scanty and uncertain to warrant any conclusion. At the same time, I must also confess that I have entirely failed to notice any clear trace of the prepositions by which the place of case-endings is taken in so many languages or by which the meaning of such terminations is limited and emphasized.

As to numerals, Dr. Chil truly observes that no one of the authors cited by him says a single word implying that the inhabitants of Tenerife had any system of numeration whatsoever. That some such thing must have existed is evident to common sense, but it seems only too possible that all trace of it has perished. Such is the opinion of Dr. Chil, so far as his investigations have hitherto led him. The only thing which has struck me as possibly connected with numbers is the fact that the six captains who accompanied the King were called the *Sigoñes* and the four counsellors the *Guañames*, the beginnings of which words are slightly suggestive of *sex* and *quatuor*. The temptation to diverge into the numerals of Grand Canary is considerable. I shall, however, restrict myself to Tenerife, and only remark with regard to Canary, as a circumstance possibly suggestive of changes of race and language, that the numerals given by Nicolas da Recco in the middle of the fourteenth century differ so totally from those given by Abreu Galindo that I can hardly regard them as belonging to languages of the same family.¹

The Verb.

As regards the verb, we have two specimens of the first person present, viz., *Guayohec*, "I become," or "live," and *Agonec*, "I swear." In both cases the termination is *ec*. As the latter of the two words is also

¹ As illustrating a possible change of language it may be worth while to yield to the temptation above indicated, so far as to give these two sets of numerals, especially as Mr. Max Müller favours me with a note showing that the first set, made in Canary by the pilot Nicolas da Recco in the expedition of Angiolino de Tegghia de Corbizzi in 1341, are ascribed,

represented by *Agoñe*, it is evident that the terminal consonantal sound was either very indistinct in itself or very obscure to the Spanish ear. This *ec* is at once suggestive of the Latin *ego*. And it is of little importance for philological purposes whether it was sounded *ec*, which more nearly approximates to *ego*, or *es*, which would assimilate it to the *isch* used instead of *ich* in certain parts of Germany, or whether the sound resembled that of the corresponding Berber termination in ξ , since the sound of the Arabic ξ is almost exactly the same as that given by the Greeks to the γ in $\epsilon\gamma\omega$. Moreover, if we accept a variant of Berthelot, and read *Agoñey*, this would only identify the suffix with the Coptic or Shemitic first persons, the Latin first persons perfect in *i*, and the English pronoun *I*.

Of the second person singular present we have no instance, but it is possible that we have one in the past, since Espinosa renders *Macoñanaet* (Chil, 40) by “thou hast made thyself great.” This is, it must be confessed, very weak, because his text in this very passage is elsewhere (Chil, 49) represented by *Chasonamet*; but it has to be remarked that where he gives the same word in the third person (I stay not to discuss whether singular or plural) he adds an *h* to the *t*; moreover, the second person termination in *t* has the support of *zahañat* for “thy vassal”; and the termination itself has the inherent

in a MS. of John Boeaceio, published at Milan in 1830, not only to Canary but also to the “altre Isole oltre Ispania nell’ oceano”—as though including Tenerife. This first list is as follows:

Nait = 1	Satti = 7	Amierat-marava = 13
Smetti = 2	Tamatti = 8	Acodat-marava = 14
Amelotti = 3	Aldamarava = 9	Simusat-marava = 15
Acodetti = 4	Marava = 10	Sesatti-marava = 16
Samusetti = 5	Nait-Marava = 11	
Sasetti = 6	Smatta-marava = 12	

On the other hand, Abreu Galindo gives as Canariote numerals:

Been = 1	Set = 8	Lini-linago = 22
Lini = 2	Acot = 9	Amiago = 50
Amiat = 3	Marago = 10	Beni-amiago = 51
Arba = 4	Beni-marago = 11	Lini-amiago = 52
Cansa = 5	Lini-marago = 12	Beemaragoin = 100
Sumous = 6	Linago = 20	Limaragoin = 200
Sat = 7	Beni-linago = 21	

probability derived from its similarity to the Latin *tu*, *tuus*, English, *thou*, *thy*, &c.

Of the third person there are more examples, but the difficulties are almost greater, owing to the variants. It must be confessed that, like the words which seem to represent the second person, it also appears to end in *t* in every case (not including the two exclamations, where, if there is a verb at all, it would be an imperative) except in four sentences, of which two have variants. (1) In the sentence "He has died and left the natives orphans." *Tanagaguayoch*, seemingly "He-has-died," is practically the same in both texts, and both also give a word in *t*—*petut* or *pelut*, as the last, but one has *sahec* while the other has *fahet* in the body of the sentence. (2) *nonhun-habet*, which seems to have some such meaning as "he ruled," has a variant of *nun habec*. (3) The important distinction is that of Espinosa, who, while he renders *Macoñanaet* or *Chaconamet* by the second person, carefully gives *chaconameth* with the added *h*, as the third. (4) The reading of Webb and Berthelot, *nasethe*, for the totally unpronounceable *nasfthc*, attributed, perhaps only by the printer, to Viana, gives the same third person termination in *th*—to be pronounced, as I have already remarked, like the *th* in *pothouse*. Now, this word I can hardly fail, associated as both are with *zahaña*, and identical as seems to be their probable meaning, to consider the same as *naset* or *nazet* in the sentence regarding the brother of Bencom. This mistake once discovered may explain others, even without resorting to the theory of orthographical or typographical errors, and, under the circumstances, I hazard the conjecture that the third person singular ended in *th*. It is hardly necessary to point out the coincidence with the Latin or German termination in *t* or the English in *th*.

Of the plural forms of the verb I have found no trace. It is true that Marin y Cubas and Espinosa render *Mencyto Acoran* by "this King and God," and "this King and this God," so that, were these translations correct, the verb following would be necessarily in the plural.

But it is so evident that the phrase in question simply consists of two titles in apposition, and signifies "God most high," that the question is not worth discussion.

Of the past tense there are two instances. One of these is in the double sentence "he died . . . and left." I have already pointed to the probability of *Tan* being a prefix indicating the past. The other is the tiresome word *Chasonamet*, etc., where it is at least probable that the *Cha* is only *Ta* with the common modification of the *t*. The *n* in *tan* may therefore be a sound inserted for the sake of euphony to separate the two *a*'s. I have only to add that in these words and in *haya* and *fahet* or *sahec*, which look very like parts of the verb, is to be noticed the *a* which is the Coptic auxiliary in the past tense.

Of the imperative there are seemingly at least two instances. One of these is *Arguihon*, "see ships," the old name of Santa Cruz, in which we know that *guihon* means ships, so that *ar* must be the verb. The other is *Chucar* or *Chusar*, in the sentence as to sparing the life of Bencom's brother. It is remarkable that *ar* is the common feature, and I am hence led to the conclusion that this is a formative of the imperative, and that in *Arguihon* the real body of the verb has been omitted by ignorance and unintelligence. An imperative in *ar* is suggestive of the imperative form in the Latin passive and deponent verbs.

To these may be conjecturally added *Achit* in the exclamation in honour of Bencom and *echey* in that about "living to be a slave." *Echey* is avowedly not in the second person, nor is *Achit*, though I confess that the termination in *t* looks to me rather like it, and as if the meaning were "Life to thee."

The Pronoun.

The variety of terminations in the words, much as these may be caused by phonographic, clerical, or typographical blunders, and the apparent absence of any other

indication, induces me to consider that the personal pronoun may have been generally represented, not only in the verbs, but also in the nouns, by suffixes, as in Coptic. This, if the phrase be correctly given, is clearly the case in *zahañat*, “*thy* slave,” where the *t* is a suffix indicating the second person singular. There may be a similar trace of a suffix of the third person in such words as *guañac*, *guagnat*, *gouanac*, and *guanoth* indicating the people or the state, and in *guayoch*, *guayoc*, *guyet*, and *guaye*, which seem to mean “life”; and I have already suggested that the termination may have been *th*. But the variants before me are so great that I do not feel that they warrant a conclusion. With regard to plurals, I have also remarked that *Quevihiera* is said by Glas to have meant “your highness,” and, since it is clearly formed from *Quebehi*, it follows, if Glas’ statement is true, that *era* or *iera* is a pronominal suffix meaning “your.”

The Conjunction.

There is one syllable, viz., *no* or *na*, which has the appearance of the conjunction. The mistake of *n* for *u* in transcripts is so common that I am inclined to suggest that the original may have been *uo* or *ua*, and cognate with the Coptic ⲟⲣⲟⲗ, the Hebrew ׀, the Arabic , and the Harakta-Berber ,. But at the same time we must not forget the Latin *que*.

I now add, for the sake of comparison with Berber, from Basset’s *Manuel de Langue Kabyle*, a few notes upon the grammatical points above mentioned. The reader will be able to judge for himself, by the divergence or similarity, whether the latter justifies the identification of Tenerifan with Berber, or whether the points in question are too few or too much shared with other languages, to lead to such a conclusion. In Kabyle then:—

There is no article of any sort or kind. (P. 55.)

The nouns, as far as I have observed, seem in the great majority of cases to terminate in consonants.

The feminine is formed from the masculine by prefixing and suffixing *th* (Greek *o*) and this is the ordinary rule for feminine words. (55, 6.)

There are no formatives of size except a diminutive (57, 8) and no superlative, and the comparative is formed by construction, though *ai* may sometimes be prefixed to the adjective. (68.)

The plural is formed by a modification of the vowels and by suffixing *-n*, *an*, *en*, or *in*. (63—5.) There is no dual.

There are no case-endings. The genitive is sometimes indicated by mere juxta-position (somewhat, I presume, as we talk of the Taff Vale Railway) and the vocative has sometimes the prefix *a* or *ai*. The rest is all done by prepositions, much as in English. (61, 2.)

In the verbs, the suffix of the first person singular is the sound represented in Arabic by غ. The second person is formed by prefixing *th* (*o*) and adding ض (*dh*). The third by prefixing *y* in the masculine and *th* (*o*) in the feminine. (26.) The past is formed by prefixing the particle *ay* to the verb. (27.) In the imperative the second person alone seems to exist: in the singular it consists of the pure root: in the plural *th* (*o*) is suffixed to the masculine and *meth* to the feminine. (26.)

The pronominal suffixes are *ou* or *you* ("my"); *k*, *ik*, *ek*, (m.) *m*, *im*, *em* (f.) ("thy"); *s*, *is*, *es* ("his or her"); *ennagh* (غ) ("our"); *ennouen* (m.) *enkount* (f.) ("your"); *ensen* (m.) and *ensent* (f.) "their." (12, 13.)

As to conjunctions, "and" is usually *ad*, *ed*, or *d*, but I find in M. Basset's edition of Loqmân's Fables (372) that *oo* (,) is used in the Harakta dialect.

With regard to the American theory, the Carib would be the language which, on account of geographical proximity, would first suggest itself. I have examined the list of Carib words extracted by Messrs. Webb and

Berthelot from Col. Codazzi's *Resumen de la Geographie de Venezuela*, and printed by them in a parallel column with Canariote words. Some of these Venezuelan words begin with *Ch* and others with *Gu*, and they all end with vowels or *s*. But their weakness for the intended purpose consists in the fact that none of them mean the same things as the Canariote words. Many of them are place-names of unknown meaning, and where the meanings are known they are never the same. Thus, *guayre* in Canariote (it is not known to be a Tenerifan word) is a social title, and *guaire* in Venezuelan is the name of a stream: *harimaguada* in Tenerifan means "a nun," and in Venezuelan *Arimagua* signifies "mountains." It is not worth while going on.

With regard to grammar, I have consulted the *Grammaire Caraïbe* published at Auxerre in 1667 by the Dominican Friar Raymond Breton at the expense of M. Claude Lecler, and republished at Paris in 1878, with an introduction by M. Lucien Adam, who devotes himself in great part to controverting the grammatical doctrines of the author.

Breton (p. 7) asserts that there was an article varying in gender and case—nominative and accusative masculine *l*, feminine *t*; plural, common *nh*, &c. Adam (x.) contends that what Breton calls the article is a set of pronouns.

The words seem almost invariably to end in vowels.

Breton asserts (9—11) that there were three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter or common. Adam (xii.) denies this, but admits two classes—*virile* (of men only) and *metavirile* (of gods, women and everything else) and adds that the "pronominal" characteristics of the *virile* were *i*, *e*, *l*, *li*, and *ri*, and those of the *metavirile* *o*, *ou*, *t*, *num*, *rou*, e.g., *aparouti*, "murderer," *aparoutou*, "murderess."

There seem to have been no formatives. The degrees of comparison were expressed by auxiliary words, except a superlative formed by lengthening or doubling the accented vowel of the positive.

There were various forms of the plural. For that of

nouns, the commonest is the addition of *-ium*, *-yum*, *-iem*, or *em*. There was no dual.

The place of case-endings was usually taken by other devices (as in English), but there was a seemingly regular locative in *-ta*.

The verb appears to have been very complicated. It was conjugated with the help of three auxiliaries, roughly answering to the English *do*, *have*, and *will*. It had pronominal prefixes, which were: sing. 1st p. *n-*, 2nd p. *b-*, 3rd p. masc. *l-*, fem. *t-*; plural, 1st p. *oua-*, 2nd p. *h-*, 3rd p. *nha-*. The imperative has only a present, and was formed by *a* (instead of *i* "do") and the pronominal prefixes, which are increased in the plural, *ouaman*="let us —," *homan*="do ye —," *nhaman*="let them —." The language possessed pronominal suffixes. They are farther modifications of the forms already given as pronominal characteristics and prefixes.

The conjunctions were very numerous, among the commonest copulars being *aca*, *kia*, and *kiaya*.

Having in mind the opinion of Mr. Glas as to Peruvian, I turned in that direction. The literature bearing upon the Peruvian or Quíchua language is very large, and, like the rest of the literature bearing upon American philology, reflects great credit upon the culture of Spanish scholars. As the most recent, I used the *Manual del Idioma General del Perú*, published at Cordoba, in 1889, by the Rev. Michael Mossi, Vicar of Atamizki in Argentina. The subject is not a light one, and both it and the peculiar scientific method used in treating it were novel to me, so that I may have missed some points, but, using the same terms I have hitherto employed, the following is, I hope, a fair summary of the points corresponding to those which I have discussed with regard to the Tenerifan.

There is no article of any sort or kind.

The nouns, as far as I have observed, seem in a great many cases to terminate in the vowel *a*.

There is no distinction of gender whatever in any part of speech.

There are a very large number of formatives, of which *zapa* (p. 66) indicates bigness, *chekhamanta* and *huañuy* give a superlative sense, and *Haycay* is used to form a kind of comparative. The adjectives themselves are indeclinable.

The plural is formed by adding *cuna* to the singular, except with some special classes of nouns, one of which is that of things in pairs, when a sort of dual is formed with *purap*.

In English we indicate the cases other than the nominative and possessive by means of words placed before, which are accordingly called prepositions. In Quíchua this is done with the so-called ablative, but the qualifying words follow instead of preceding, and Mossi accordingly calls them postpositions. The genitive, dative, and accusative have case-endings, unless indeed these ought not also to be more properly called postpositions, especially in the dative, where there are two, signifying respectively *to* (*towards*) and *for*. These case-endings are, gen. *p* or *pa*, dat. *man* or *pac*, acc. *ta* or *cta*. They are the same for both singular and plural. There is only one declension. In the case of nouns in apposition only the principal one is declined, the others being then treated as adjectives, or, as we should say, “King John’s crown,” declining *John* but not *King*.

There is only one conjugation for verbs, and it seems to be beautifully developed, as though upon a purely logical basis, like an ideal generated from a philosopher’s thought. It has Forms, as in the Shemitic or Slavonic languages. In this conjugation, whatever the verb, the forms are all arranged or encrusted upon one framework, viz., the auxiliary verb *ca*, “to be,” the conjugation of which occupies thirty-six pages of Mossi’s book. I am only concerned with the terminations, which are practically the same in every tense,—1st p. *-ni*, 2nd p. *-nki*, 3rd p. *-n*; 1st p. pl. *-nchic* or *-ycu*, 2nd p. *-nkichic*, 3rd p. *-ncu*. The perfect inserts *-rkha* before the termination; the imperfect is formed from the perfect by prefixing *cach*. The imperative has a present, a simple

imperfect future, and two compound perfects future, all with their numbers and persons. In the present, the 2nd p. sing. terminates in *-ay*, pl. *-ychic*.

As to pronouns, "I" is *nokha*; "thou," *cam*; "he (or she)," *pay*. They are declined, and their plurals formed, regularly, just as though they were nouns. Possession is indicated by pronominal suffixes, as in the Shemitic languages, and in Berber, Coptic, &c. These are *-y* ("my"), *-yki* ("thy"), *-n* ("his or her"), *-nchic* or *-ycu* ("our"), *-ykichic* ("your"), *-n* or *-ncu* ("their.") There are also some accusative pronominal suffixes somewhat resembling those in the languages just named. They are *-yki* ("I to thee"), *-huanki* ("thou to me"), *-huan* ("he or she to me"), *-sunki* ("he or she to thee"), *-ykichic* ("I to you"), *-huankichic* ("you to me"), *-huancu* ("they to me"), and *-sunkichic* ("he or she to you.")

There are numerous conjunctions, of which the simplest are *pas* and *huan*.

While I admit that there are some points in common, I must also confess that I fail to see much in this to justify the idea of Mr. Glas that the Tenerifan language was Quíchua. It is possible that some one who has a knowledge of Quíchua wider than mine may be of a different opinion, or that there may be some other American language which may present conclusive points of identity. For myself, I hardly think it would have been worth my while, even had I had the time, to undertake so vast a task as an examination of all American grammars for the sake of a chance which seems to me so remote. And this especially while it is possible, as it still is, that the whole question may be solved by the discovery of some document such as a grammar or dictionary made by or for some missionary, some state paper such as a treaty, or the deposition of some witness, or a catechism, or even some old ritual containing those portions of the services for Baptism and Marriage which are used in the vulgar tongue. Even failing all these, I think it can hardly be doubted, from the results already attained by one or two labourers, that much awaits the investi-

gator in this field. It is a source of profound satisfaction that the question is now receiving attention from natives of the Archipelago at once so patriotic, so intelligent, so industrious, and so cultured as the gentlemen whom I have named, and others. And it is matter of thankfulness to foreigners that their courtesy equals their culture.

In the meanwhile, I am not unconscious that while I have suggested certain Aryan analogies, especially in the vocabulary, certain grammatical forms which I have indicated as possible, such as a definite article in *t*, feminines in *a*, and pronominal suffixes to nouns and verbs, might also be interpreted as pointing rather in the same direction as Coptic, and thus partially coinciding with the Berber theory, at least as regards an Hamitic origin. Some one who possesses a greater familiarity with the Egyptian vocabulary than I can claim, may be able to go farther in this direction. Some one who knows more of comparative Aryan grammar than I do, may perhaps go farther in another.

This paper is now ended. I desire to express my indebtedness to Mr. Birch, and to the gentlemen whom he visited in the Canaries, for all that they have done to help me in writing it. In some excuse for its many deficiencies, which are my own, I may perhaps be permitted to remark that it has been written under difficulties of health, of journeys, and above all, of much business. Of these deficiencies I am very conscious. I know that I have not made as much as can be made of the materials in my hands, especially the names of places.

I will only conclude by saying once more that my object in compiling this paper has not been to advocate any theory of my own, and still less to make a controversial attack upon those of others, but merely to analyze and comment upon some facts, in the hope of attracting to the subject the attention of some better qualified than myself, and by whom it may consequently be treated with results more satisfactory than mine.

It may be a convenience to the English reader to mention that the full title of the work so frequently quoted in the preceding pages, and upon which they are mainly based, is *Estudios Históricos, Climatológicos y Patológicos de las Islas Canarias*, por D. Gregorio Chil y Naranjo, Doctor en Medicina y Cirujía, &c., &c., and that the agents for its sale are at—

Las Palmas de Gran-Canaria, Imprenta de La Atlántida, calle de Enmedio, 1.

Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Librería de D. José Benítez, calle de San Francisco, 8.

Cádiz, Librería de D. Manuel Morillas, calle de San Francisco, 36.

Madrid, Librería de los Sres. Gaspar y Roig, Izquierdo, 4.

Barcelona, Librería de D. Eusebio Riera, Robador, 24—26.

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